

P. 4

THE
DEFECTION

K
Consider'd, and

The DESIGNS of those,
who divided the Friends
of the Government, set
in a True Light.

Quis furor iste novus? non hostem inimicaq; Castra
Argivum Spes vestras uritis. *Virg. l. 5.*

*Refrain not to speak, when there is Occasion to do good. Ec-
cles. iv. 23.*

L O N D O N,

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Considered, and

The DEFENSES of those
who divided the Friends
of the Government, for
in a True Light.

46

Given in the name of the non-resistant
Vols. 1 & 2.

1856

Printed and sold by the
Author, at the British Museum.

BRITISH MUSEUM



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(Price 6d.)



THE
DEFECTION

Consider'd, &c.



NOTHING but a due Regard for the Publick, cou'd make me meddle with a Subject, where I shall be necessarily oblig'd, contrary to my Inclination, to write with a great deal of Freedom, of the late Behaviour of certain Persons, whom, before I very much esteem'd: In the doing this, I hope to shew, 'tis not Unkindness for their Persons, but Love to my Country, which wholly influences me; and, therefore, shall religiously avoid saying any thing of them, but where the Publick is concern'd in their Actions.

As I will not detract from their former Merit, so neither can I omit any thing that's necessary, to make such, as they have seduc'd from their Duty, perceive the fatal Tendency of those Divisions they have created, and are still fomenting with the utmost Application; and to let the World see how highly reasonable it is, when such Men act a Part so

inconsistent with all former Pretences, to have always in our Minds that excellent Precept of the Gospel, *He that stands, let him take heed lest he falls*; and that if we will do rightly, we must be govern'd, not by Precedents, but by Principles; which teach us to look on all, who, out of selfish Views, act contrary to them (whatever Denomination they are willing to go under) as *Deserters, Betrayers, Renegades*; who do more Mischief to the Cause they pretend to be for, than those, who openly profess contrary Principles.

Never was a Parliament better dispos'd than the present, to have done ev'ry thing, that cou'd any ways tend to promote the common Good; and when the so seasonably Defeating the desperate Attempts of the Enemies of our Religion, Laws, and Government, had giv'n them the most favourable Opportunity of removing out of the way, all that might disturb our future Quiet, or hinder us from being the most happy Nation in the World, and of conveying this inestimable Blessing to our latest Posterity; Then to see Things take a quite different Turn, and the Hopes of good Men miserably frustrated, must provoke the Indignation of all, who wish well to their Country; especially, when they find, 'tis owing to those, who were esteem'd Patriots, had the greatest Share of the King's Favour, and got immensely by his Bounty. Who is not surpriz'd, to find these Men hazard all by their Unaccountable Divisions; and by joining with the Enemies of their Country, distress the King's Affairs, and prevent the doing those very Things, they themselves declar'd to be necessary
for

for the Publick Safety ; nay, made *that Necessity* an Argument for obtaining the *Septennial Act*.

These Mens Proceeding after this vile, and infamous Manner, has giv'n new Life to the Cause of *Popery*, and the *Pretender* : Hence the *Jacobites*, who began to look on their Game as lost, and think it in vain any longer to strive against the Stream, have Now their Hopes reviv'd, and are wonderfully elated ; and ev'ry where declare, that the *Whiggs* will do *That* for them, which all their own Cunning, or Force, cou'd not effect ; and that, if a sudden Stop be not put to their intestine Jars (which, they think, are too far gone to be compos'd ;) they will ruin themselves, and the Cause they are engag'd in ; and then, say they, it can't be doubted, but that we will take effectual Care, that neither shall get uppermost again.

To prevent them from being True Prophets, I shall shew, 1st. To what Extremity *Divisions* are apt to carry People. 2^{dly}. What those, who are for the Government, are to expect, if their Enemies get uppermost. 3^{dly}. That nothing can be more perverse than their Conduct, who have caus'd *these Dissentions* ; or more weak than the Part these well-meaning People have acted, who have been prevail'd on to join with them ; and that they have all the Reason in the World, by a steady Conduct for the future, to atone for the Scandal they have brought on their own Party, and Cause.

The *Jews* cou'd not forbear their *Party-Divisions*, ev'n while their Capital was besieg'd by the *Romans* ; and they fell on one another with that implacable Fury, that they hurted themselves more
than

than the common Enemy was able to do; and had not *Josephus* been a Jew, and an Eye-witness, we cou'd never have believ'd the Account he gives of the Heights, those Quarrels were carry'd to among the besieg'd, without Regard to their common Safety; notwithstanding they were press'd to the last Degree by Famine, and the Enemy.

Nor were the Divisions at *Constantinople* between the *Greeks* and *Latines*, who resided there, less fatal, when that Place was besieg'd by the *Turks*; and 'twas no small Occasion that that famous City, and with it all the Remains of the *Greek Empire*, fell so easily into the Hands of those barbarous *Infidels*.

But what need we look Abroad, since we find by our own Historians, that we were never conquer'd by Foreign Enemies, or fell into any great Miseries, but by being unhappily divided among ourselves.

To give an Account of these Divisions wou'd fill a Volume; and therefore, I shall only observe, that in *Edw.* the 6th's Reign, the Quarrels between the Two Brothers, the *Protector* and *Admiral*, quickly brought the latter to the Block; and when he was gone, the *Protector* himself fell a Sacrifice to the cursed Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who not long after was brought to the Scaffold, where he behav'd himself cowardly, and dy'd unpity'd. I mention this the rather, because 'tis well worth observing, that these great Men quarrell'd among themselves, as soon as the Rebellions, rais'd on Pretence of the *Church* and *Religion*, were quell'd; and that it was on the
Ac-

Account of these Unnatural Divisions, as our Ecclesiastical Historian observes, that scarce any Thing was seen, during that Excellent Prince's Reign, but Disorder and Confusion, both in Church and State ; which made Way for the Destruction of the *Reformation*, and the Letting in of *Popery*, and *Persecution* in the next Reign; and are these *Now* to be kept out, when those very Men, who are against them, are divided among themselves, and hate one another more than the common Enemy.

If the Resentment of the Insolence, Covetousness, Pride, and Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*, cou'd make the Protestant Nobility, who were engag'd to be for a Protestant Succession, to desert the Person they had set up, and declare for the Popish Daughter of *H. 8.* born in Incest, whose Religion render'd her incapable of governing, except Ruin and Destruction may be call'd Government ; This shews, how dangerous 'tis to have Factions in the Bowels of a Kingdom ; and that where *Protestants* are divided among themselves, neither *Religion*, nor any other Consideration, can hinder them from gratifying their Resentment, ev'n to their own Ruin.

If, as the Gospel assures us, it holds true of a *Kingdom divided in itself*, that it cannot stand ; 'twill, no Doubt, hold as strongly of any Party in a Nation, if they chance to be at Variance among themselves ; and constant Experience might have taught those Parties, which so unhappily divide us, this Truth ; that when either of them were so impolitick, as to quarrel among themselves, they have been quickly

quickly forc'd to give Place to the Common Enemy ; and then in the Anguish of their Souls, what Resolutions, what Vows did they not make, of never splitting upon that Rock, if ever, by the Folly of their Adversaries, they got uppermost again ? and yet almost as soon as they did, those Resolutions were forgot, and the Devil of *Ambition*, *Envy*, and *Avarice*, setting the Top-men at Variance, the Underlings divided of Course, and came into any Measures, which might prejudice the opposite Leaders, without regarding how it affected the *common Good* ; and thereby they demonstrated, that they were not govern'd by *Principles*, but by the vilest Things they cou'd be govern'd ; viz. the *Passions* of the *Great Ones* ; which cou'd have no other Effect, than ruining the whole Party, and the Cause, for which they wou'd have the World believe they were most zealous.

The smaller the Number of any Party is, (as that of honest Men will never be large) the greater is the Reason for a *Strict Union* ; since by the least Division there's the utmost Danger, lest the common Enemy, like a vast Torrent, break in, and bear down all before them.

It's notorious, that the Party, which prevail'd in the latter End of the Queen's Reign, have, ever since, acted after such a Manner, as if they had a Mind to persuade the World, that the Majority of the Nation were Fools and Mad-men ; but 'twas to be hop'd, that the other Party, opposite to them in almost ev'ry Thing else, wou'd have been so in *This*, and warn'd by their Folly, have had so much Regard to the Nation's Honour, and their

their Own, as not to give People just Occasion to think as vilely of them, when they see, that by their intestine Quarrels, their *King, Country, Liberties, Religion*, and ev'ry Thing that's valuable is expos'd to the utmost Danger.

Foreigners, with Amazement, look on *these Divisions*, when they perceive, that there's still so considerable a Party most industriously labouring to destroy both Sides, weaken'd by their *Dissensions*.

Strangers think these Quarrels among Men, whose *Principles* are the best calculated for the Good of *Mankind*, must have some extraordinary Reason; they can't well imagine, that *They*, who have caus'd those Divisions, have nothing to object against the *Present Administration*; and that it is chiefly for the sake of a *single Person*, who, not content with the most beneficial Posts, threw up in a Pet, because he cou'd not govern ev'ry Thing; and then confederated with such, as 'till the Moment he declar'd himself a *Country Gentleman*, he continually represented as the *Vilest* of Men, and *Traitors* to their *King* and *Country*.

It's a melancholy Reflection to consider, that Men of the *worst Principles* are more steadily govern'd by them, than others by the best: When the most celebrated Champion of *High-Church* went over to the other Party in the late Reign, he was not able to bring with him one Man, and his own Side hated him as a *Renegado*; nay, which is more remarkable, when that Minister, who, for so long a Time, had the Disposal of ev'ry Thing, and thereby capable of obliging great Numbers, tho' he did not,

contrary to the Will of the Queen, lay down, but was turn'd out; yet he cou'd not make any Party, or the least Division among the *Tories*, much less was he able to prevail on any of them, to throw up their Places, and fly in the Face of the Queen; but they all stuck to *their Principles*, and to the *Ministry* that continu'd in.

If any of their Leaders, tho' ever so much belov'd, shou'd, immediately upon Quitting his Employment, enter into a *New Alliance* with the adverse Party, and join in Voting with them, they wou'd, no Doubt, despise him as the most infamous of Mankind; and what must we think of a *Whigg*, who has acted such a Part, and of those, who have join'd with him? Vertue was low enough before in all Parties, but after this, what will the World say of the *greatest Pretenders* to it?

The Dispute is not only about *Places* and *Preferments*, but concerning all that can be valuable to an *English-man*: There are but *Two grand Parties* in the Nation, and scarce a Man, or Woman, which is not of one, or t'other; and tho' there may be several Things, done by their own Side, which some may dislike, yet if they do not dislike them more than they like their Party, they will come into ev'ry Thing essential to it:

One Party by their Principles are for a *Limited Monarchy* in the House of *Hanover*, for the *Church*, and *Regal Supremacy*, as by Law establish'd; for *Tolerating* the *Protestant Dissenters* at Home, and *Freeing* them from those *Hardships* they were lately put under, for their Zeal to the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Protestant Succession*; and for *Treating* those Abroad, as becomes the Head
of

of the Common Protestant Interest ; for Encouraging Trade, Manufactures, Industry, and ev'ry Thing that tends to the Publick Good.

The other Party, being by their Principles for Absolute Power in the Popish Line, are, of Course, Enemies to Liberty, Property, and the Protestant Religion ; are for a strict Union with the most bigotted Papists ; for setting up a Papal Independency in their own Clergy ; for Confounding the Reform'd Abroad, as well as at Home ; and for Discouraging by their persecuting, and other pernicious Maxims, all Trade, Manufactures, Industry, and ev'ry Thing that's for the Publick Good.

Is it not unaccountable, that while one Party scruple neither Lying, nor Perjury, nor Embroiling the Nation in a Civil War ; and think, that the Goodness of their Cause sanctifies the most wicked Means, which they carry on with great Unanimity ; that the Other shou'd be a Rope of Sand, have so much Coldness and Indifference for their Cause, that the least Trifle divides them ? Can any Thing be more astonishing, than to see Men, possess'd of the best Posts, fly in the Face of the King, if he but exercises the same Power in Choosing his Servants, which ev'ry one of them think, they have an Undoubted Right to do.

Since we can so easily forget those Dangers, we have so lately escap'd, as to take such Measures, as will certainly involve us in the same Difficulties ; it will not, therefore, be improper, to remind those Gentlemen of the Circumstances we were in, at the latter End of the Queen's Reign, and of the Fate we shou'd

unavoidably have met with, if the Rebellion had succeeded.

The common People in the late Reign, were so wrought on, (which their Conduct has since left us no Room to doubt) as to be willing to join with the *Papists* for the Destruction of our *Laws, Liberties, and Religion*, on Pretence of Preserving the *Church*, and Maintaining *Hereditary Right*; and with them the *Tory* Gentry, not only those of broken Fortunes, but others were willing to concur in the same Design.

This Infatuation was owing to the Conduct of the *High-church Clergy*, who, for several Years, seem'd to have had no other View, than to unite with the Church of *Rome*, in Order to extirpate all *Protestants* of what Denomination soever, and govern the Christian World as absolutely as their *Popish* Ancestors us'd to do; and, therefore, tho' they durst not bare-fac'd declare for *Papery*, were coming ev'ry Day nearer and nearer to it; and with indefatigable Zeal in the Universities, taught all those Principles, which favour'd the Pretender's Interest, and from the *Pulpits* and *Press*, as well as *Private Conversation*, promoted ev'ry Thing that made for this Design, and represented those as *Atheists, Deists, Fanaticks*, &c. who thought themselves oblig'd to keep the *Oaths* they had taken.

Had they not thought *Papery* their Interest, they wou'd have appear'd as active against the Pretender, as they did against King *James*, whom they turn'd out, notwithstanding their Doctrines of *Passive Obedience*, and all the Lengths they had gone with him, when they found they were not to govern; and that he was for giving the *Pro-*
testant

testant Dissenters, contrary to the Principles of his Religion, a *Toleration*. I think, there can be no greater Proof of the Power of Resentment, than that it was able to make these Men deviate from their constant Practice, and act rightly in this single Instance.

In the Reigns preceding the *Revolution*, tho' the *High-church Priests* were against the *Pope's Supremacy*, hoping to get that Power themselves; yet afterwards despairing of Success, and enrag'd at the *Toleration*, *Liberty of the Press*, and the *Vacant Sees*, fill'd by King *William*, with Men, who, they knew, were utter Enemies to all *Church-Tyranny*; and influenc'd by the *Non-juring Clergy*, they were resolv'd (not to hazard *Martyrdom*, by bringing in the *Pretender*, but) to unite with *Rome* on its own Terms; and one Reason, why their *Idol* does not dissemble his Sentiments, but shews such an incurable Aversion to *Protestantism*, seems to be the Avoiding all Occasions of Prejudicing those, whom he is sure, as long as he remains fix'd in *Papery*, will be unalterably attach'd to his Interest; and who never thought the *Church* to be in *Danger*, but under a *Truly-Protestant King*; and for several Years, have always declar'd *It* either in, or out of *Danger*, according as they found the *Popish Cause* to lose, or get Ground. And 'tis notorious, that nothing provokes them more, than to see a Man in earnest quit the *Church of Rome*, and act sincerely on *Protestant Principles*; of which we have a fresh, and flagrant Instance.

If we consider the malicious Lies, horrid Calumnies, and furious Invectives the Party rais'd

rais'd to enflame the Passions of the Multitude, there can be no Doubt, but that they design'd to work 'em up to a *General Massacre* of all they call'd *Whiggs*; and they, who were let into the Secret, and saw how well prepar'd the *Mob* were, to execute their most bloody Designs, (which they thought too well-laid to miscarry,) cou'd not deny themselves the Pleasure of Insulting the *Whiggs*, and advising them to *prepare to dye with Decency* *.

In Truth, nothing less than their total Ruin cou'd satisfy them; since they were for Patching up their broken Fortunes out of their Estates; and nothing cou'd have made those, who had *Church-Lands*, come so readily into the *Pretender's* Interest, as the Assurance they had, that if they were oblig'd to part with those *Lands*, they shou'd be amply recompenc'd out of the Estates of the *Whiggs*; who, they concluded, wou'd upon a Turn, be all attainted, as the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, without Exception to Women and Children, were in *King James's* Reign.

Can any one think, that *Conscience*, *Honour*, or *Love* to their Country, cou'd hinder the then Ministry from Acting such a Part, when he considers, how they were Modelling the Army, and that if they had continu'd a little longer, they wou'd have disbanded all, both in *Britain* and *Ireland*, they cou'd not confide in; and have rais'd such new Men, as they knew, wou'd be for their Purpose; and what cou'd have hinder'd such an Army, join'd with the *Irish*, and

French

* Vide Examiner. Publick Spirit of the Whiggs, &c.

French Troops, the *Pretender* wou'd have brought with him; and all the *Papists* at Home, as well as Others, more inveterate than the *Papists* themselves, from Acting with the utmost Cruelty? and after they were engag'd, if any one of them was inclin'd to have shewn the least Remorse, he cou'd not have practis'd it with Safety to himself, or refus'd to have come into all their most bloody Measures, against such as wou'd have been thought the worst of *Rebels* and *Hereticks*; such, as the *Non-juring Clergy*, (who call themselves *Protestants*) have unchurch'd, and unchristian'd.

Can we doubt this was the Design of these Men, when to prevent the *Protestants* here from having, in the Time of their Distress, any Assistance from Abroad, all the Troops in the Pay of *Great Britain* were to be withdrawn, when the Army was too near the Enemy to make a Retreat, that the *French* might have the Opportunity of first destroying our Allies, and then of cutting those *British* Forces to Pieces, which were afterwards left to starve; and this was to be practis'd in *Spain*, as well as *Flanders*.

The Reader can't be better inform'd of the Methods, that, upon the Miscarriage of *This Hellish Contrivance*, were taken to deliver us up to *France*, and the *Pretender*, than from the Report of the *Secret Committee*, and an Impartial Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *A Short History of the Parliament*; to which, I have nothing to add, but that Providence preserv'd us from those wicked Designs, on which no True Briton, or Protestant, can reflect without Horror.

The

The *Tories*, being thus happily disappointed, did not yet despair, hoping upon the King's Coming over, to have got the Administration continu'd in their Hands; but when they found the Chief of their Leaders, were to be prosecuted; and all they had acted in Favour of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, was to be unravell'd, and our ancient Alliances to be renew'd, and our Trade recover'd, and improv'd, and ev'ry Thing both at Home and Abroad to be done, that wou'd strengthen the common *Protestant* Interest; Then they despair'd of doing any Thing, but by down-right Force; and pulling off the Masque, shew'd their implacable Rancour; first in an Infinity of monstrous Scandals against the Person of the King, and the whole Royal Family; then in Riots and Tumults; and at last, in a downright desperate Rebellion; in which had they prevail'd, I leave it to those *Whiggs*, who are now for dividing their Party, and making an Alliance with the *Tories*, to judge what wou'd have become of them; whether any Thing less than their utter Destruction wou'd have satisfy'd that implacable Spirit, which so visibly flam'd out in the *High-church*, as well as profess'd *Papists*.

And when a Stop was put to this desperate Rebellion, were they then contented to be quiet? No, their next Attempt was to court, and that with no small Sums, an Invasion of their Native Country, by a Prince, * whose Character is so well known.

Good GOD! What Plunders, what Ravages,

* See A Letter to Sir J. B's, and Life of Patkul.

ges, what Slaughters, and Desolations of all Sorts, wou'd these infamous Conspirators, and their Champion, if they had met with Success, have committed ?

Certainly, If the *Tories* are so mad, as to endeavour, out of Malice to the Best of Kings, to involve themselves, and the whole Nation in one common Ruin ; Others wou'd be as mad as they, if they gave them the least Advantage by quarrelling among themselves. 'Tis evident from *Gyllenborg's* Letters, that they, who design'd this Invasion, were not a little encourag'd by those Divisions ; to give an Instance, or two of this, * ' It continues certain, (*says he*) that the Misunderstanding among those of the prevailing Party encreases mightily ; it may be attended with extraordinary Consequences in the Approaching Sessions of Parliament. † *Mr. Walpole's* Reply is remarkable. ----- If it be not the Effect of the present Discontent, and that the Court will find Expedients to regain these People, I don't know, whether the Court will ev'n venture to bring that Matter upon the Stage. " That he had a different Opinion of the present Ministry is plain, by his saying, || ' They will prevail on the Mercenary Parliament to take Vigorous Resolutions. ----- The *English* Ministers, who are all furious Persons, do not mince the Matter, --- we must make Use of this Opportunity, to enter into Measures against People, who, certainly, will not do things by halves ; we must either ruin them, or be undone ourselves.

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Tho'

Tho' this Design of an Invasion seems to be blown over, yet the Hopes of the *Jacobites* are kept up by the Divisions among the *Whiggs*; and they were never more active than at present in Dispersing their Libels; one of which is address'd to R. W-----, Esq;

And shou'd this restless Party ever prevail, (as nothing now gives them Hopes, but the unaccountable Quarrels among the *Whiggs*,) can it be imagin'd, that they will think their New King, or themselves safe, as long as there is any Number of *Whiggs* left to join those Forces, which the House of *Hanover* may send by Sea from their Acquisitions in *Bremen*? As their Enemies have a new Motive to endeavour to extirpate them, so one wou'd think they had a fresh Reason to unite heartily among themselves.

If any can suppose, that the Dispute is only about Places, let him but reflect how the *Tories* acted in King *William's* Reign; when the Animosities between the Parties were infinitely short of what they have been since; that King, tho' he took all Measures imaginable to bring them into his Interest, yet the more he caress'd them, the more they endeavour'd to weaken his Hands, and to clog his Administration; and as the Hopes of Restoring the Abdicated Family encreas'd, so did their Enmity and Insolence to him, 'till at last that great Prince, when it was almost too late, saw it was not in his Power to alter them.

Did not the same Party shew the like Enmity to the Queen, and her Administration, 'till the late Ministry came into all the Measures, that tended to bring in *Papery* and *Slavery*? and then did they not fall in with all their Might?

Things

Things standing thus, is it not amazing, that no Experience can render the *Whigs* wiser, but they must quarrel among themselves, and one Party of them in Opposition to the other, endeavour to make the Administration uneasy; and hinder such Things from Passing as tend to the Publick Good and their general Interest, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the common Enemy, who only wait for an Opportunity to destroy both of them?

Men in high Stations, tho' they have fine and florid Parts, yet if they want solid Sense, and a good Stock of real Vertue, to enable them to bear their Grandeur with Moderation, grow giddy and insolent upon their Exaltation, and believing ev'ry Thing due to their superior Merit, form Schemes of Engrossing their Royal Master, and think they are affronted, if any of their Creatures (how well soever they may deserve it) are turn'd out; or their Prince bestows his Favour without their Leave; and rather than suffer this, they will throw up, tho' in the Middle of a Session, and not scruple to embroil the Publick Affairs, in Order to make themselves necessary; and to force the Prince to part with those, who, He judges, best deserves his Kindness, and to employ none but them, and their Creatures; and this, they think, is not so very difficult, where the Parties are pretty equal, and they are sure of the Assistance of one of them to distress the Ministry; they then have nothing to do, but to inveigle some upwary *Whigs* to join with them, by promising, when they gain their Point, Places to those who have none, and to advance those that have.

That such a Design was on Foot, when the King went Abroad, is plain, from two Persons threatening to lay down, if that most Noble Peer, employ'd since with so much Reputation, was made the third Secretary of State; this Insolence, their great Intimacy with a G-----l in Disgrace, and trusty H-----e being officiously sent with a Scheme for the Parliament's Sitting during the King's Absence, shock'd many People, tho' far from imagining they were capable of Acting what since has been done.

If a certain Gentleman contriv'd this Scheme to get the *Staff*, and govern *England*, ev'n his Instruments, can't hope to keep their Posts, but by an obsequious, slavish Compliance; for whoever is insolent to his Prince, will be intolerable, when in Power, to his Fellow-Subjects; and he must have a vitiated Taste, indeed, who thinks it not better to serve a good King, of whose Favour he may be sure as long as he does his Duty, than be a Slave to any Fellow-Subject; especially one, who lately wou'd have thought himself very fortunate, if, instead of forming Schemes for governing these Kingdoms, he cou'd have found Means of being freed from the Inconveniences he then labour'd under.

Quitting of Places is no Crime, but if several cabal to throw up, when the Government has most Occasion for their Service, in Order to force it to comply with their unreasonable Demands, this is a very Criminal Conspiracy; especially, in that Person, who has not only got incredible Sums for himself, but who cou'd ask nothing of his generous Master, (and all the World knows, he is none of the most modest in Asking)

ing) for his *Children, Relations, and Friends*, but what has been giv'n him; *This* must fill ev'ry honest *Briton* with Indignation against such vile Ingratitude.

These Men seem to be very sensible of what base Things they are Acting; and, therefore, to colour it over, they join with the most inveterate *Jacobites*, in Insinuating ev'ry where groundless, senseless, and most malicious Stories against the Government, and wou'd have the World believe, that there are such vile, such horrid Things to be done, as they dare not so much as name, and pretend to pity those, who have so little Honour as to keep their Places, and be employ'd in the *dirty Work*.

If Designs are carrying on, inconsistent with the Publick Good, the Ministers ought to keep their Places, in Order to prevent these ill Designs, 'till they see, 'tis out of their Power to hinder them; and then, if they throw up, and expose those Contrivances, they ought to do it, without renouncing, with their Employments, their Fidelity both to their King and Country; but when Men take a contrary Method, and join with the Enemies of the Government, in dispersing senseless Stories about *Foreign Divorces, New Marriages*, and I know not what *Idle Tales*, purposely to stir up the Rabble to Sedition; it fully shews by what Principles they are govern'd.

It's certainly, much for the Honour of the present Administration, that they have no Way to blacken it, but by telling ridiculous Lies; tho' at the same Time, they pretend it is out of Respect, they dare not name what is doing; none, sure, can be so impos'd on, as to think, that
Men,

Men, who will invent the grossest Calumnies to asperse the Government, will be so scrupulous, as to conceal the Truth, when 'tis suppos'd to be so much for their Interest to have it known; and wou'd so highly gratify that implacable Resentment, which upon all Occasions, both within, and without Doors, they have never fail'd to make appear.

When several are in a Secret, it is very difficult for them all to keep it, tho' it were their Interest; and especially a certain Gentleman, who was always blabbing what he is sworn to conceal.

His whole Conduct since this Turn, and the New Alliances he has made with Sir W. W----m, &c. and which he openly brags of, shews, that Respect has no Share in his Silence; but wou'd he blacken, to some Purpose, those in the Administration, he cou'd not do it more effectually, than by Charging them with some of those Things he himself has been guilty of.

Can any One intend the Good of his King, or Country, who endeavours to seduce Members, or other Persons, whether in, or out of the Service of the Court, in Order to distress the King's Measures, and create such a Misunderstanding, as has a Tendency to the worst of Evils;

*Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atreide
Mercede:*

but 'tis impossible for them to succeed, since the Wisdom, Sagacity, and Penetration of the Royal Family, will easily see what 'tis they intend, and frustrate all their Traiterous Designs.

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In former Times and foreign Kingdoms, when there were no disputed Titles, but all own'd the Right of the Possessor of the Crown, there have been Instances, tho' very rare, of Men so infamous, as to endeavour to sow Dissentions in the Royal Family; but they were sure in the next Reign, if they so long escap'd Punishment, to meet with all the Infamy imaginable, in Order to discourage such dangerous Attempts for the future.

I wou'd ask any of those, who are drawn into these new Measures, how he himself wou'd like it, if after he had prefer'd a Man, whom he found in a necessitous Condition, to the best Service he cou'd bestow, and the Servant thus advanc'd, shou'd grow intolerably insolent, and pretend to govern the whole House; and because his Master found it necessary to remove another Head-Servant, he shou'd agree with several of the Under-lings, not only to quit their Places, when their Master had the most Need of them; but openly join with the Servants of one, who was not only a profess'd Enemy to his Master, but a *Pretender* to his Estate; and whom, 'till then he had always rail'd at as a vile Impostor; and insinuate the worst Things of the Best of Masters, (who had no other Fault, but that of being too kind to him,) endeavour to create a Misunderstanding in his Family, and give such a Character of those Servants, who had always been faithful, and abhor'd the Using their Master after such a Manner, as shou'd discourage the Neighbours from Dealing with them, however necessary to their old Master's Affairs.

Wou'd any Gentleman, who had the least Degree

gree of Sense, or Honour, or had no Mind to be despis'd by his Neighbours; and cheated; and ruin'd by such wicked, confederate Servants, take them again upon their own Terms; since *This* wou'd be to make himself the Servant, and them the Master; no, certainly, he wou'd first try all the Servants in a Nation that cou'd be had.

I wonder, how it cou'd enter into any Man's Mind, to think, that a Prince, who has shewn so much Firmness, Constancy, and Resolution in all his Actions, cou'd possibly be work'd on by such Methods; the same steady Conduct, which hinders him from parting with Ministers, who behave themselves well, (as they who serve Him in His other Dominions find to their Satisfaction) must prevent Him from taking those again, who have acted a different Part; and if ever Men perceive a Prince can do so mean a Thing, as to employ People out of Fear; and that He is ready to buy those off, who oppose his Interest, he will get ten real Enemies for one pretended Friend; especially, in a Country, where few think they are prefer'd according to their Merit; and as he will not have a Minute's Quiet during his Reign, so no Revenues cou'd satisfy the Covetousness of such, who upon ev'ry Turn wou'd expect to be bought off.

Men, who were insolent before, wou'd, upon gaining their Point, by bullying the Government, be much more so, and openly despise a King, who had shewn so great a Weakness; and 'tis impossible, but a Prince must be fill'd with Shame and Confusion, when he reflected on
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what Opinion the World must have of so mean a Conduct, so infinitely below the Dignity, and Honour of a Crown'd Head.

A brave Man, if driv'n to Extremity, wou'd rather employ one, who had been an open Enemy, than a treacherous Friend; who has convinc'd the World, that there's no Tye capable to hold him, but that he is ready to sacrifice ev'ry Thing, Civil and Sacred, to his Interest, Ambition, and Revenge; and after this, how can any Man rely upon his Promises of being preferr'd upon his coming into Play again.

But let us, for once, suppose an impossible Thing, that they, now in the Administration, shou'd be turn'd out to make Room for those, who lately threw up, wou'd not the disoblig'd be at least as great a Number as the oblig'd; and if they, encourag'd by this Precedent, shou'd take the same Methods to be restor'd, what other Effect cou'd it have, but putting the Government under a Necessity of Cashiering both Sides, since either one, or the other wou'd be always opposing it; but if they are Men of more Vertue, than to be capable of acting such a Part, wou'd it not be very wrong to turn out the *Best Men* to gratify the *worst*.

Some, to justify their own Conduct, cry up the former Merit of that Person, for whose sake they seem'd chiefly to have form'd this Confederacy, and the Obligation they are under to him.

If it did not mitigate the Crime of those Angels, who join'd with the grand *Apostate* in

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his Attempt against his Maker, that he had *once* been chief among the good Spirits, and a Favourite of Heav'n, it can't, sure, excuse such as are led away by one, who, tho' we shou'd allow him once to have been equal to an Angel of Light, yet puff'd up, I had almost said, with *Luciferian* Pride, and fall'n from his high Station, has since acted the Part of an Angel of Darkness; not but that the Government will, no doubt, make a Difference between the *Tempter*, and the *Tempted*; and if they will return to their Duty, they may be in the same State of Favour as formerly; and all good Men, who have seen their Error, will, to atone for it, act with more than ordinary Zeal; and as they can have no Obligations to a Subject, equal to what they owe their King and Country, so they will think, that the Lengths they have already gone to serve him, is more than sufficient to take away any Charge of Ingratitude. But to go to the Bottom of the Matter,

Whenever, upon just Grounds, we have conceiv'd a good Opinion of a Man, as we ought not, without evident Proof, to alter our Sentiments, so neither shou'd we make his Actions the Measure of Virtue and Vice, and believe that Good and Evil may rather change than he; whoever is not govern'd by Principles, but thinks himself in the right, because he follows such Leaders, 'tis a Million to one, but he is in the wrong, with Relation to the State as well as the Church, and can as little be a *True Whig*, as a *True Protestant*.

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Had a certain Gentleman dy'd about the Time, the *Report of the Secret Committee* came out, he might have made his *Exit* with more Reputation, than he must expect for the future; tho' there were some, who did not, ev'n then, think the Impeach'd Lords in any great Danger, when they saw, that Proceeding by *Attainder*, (the usual Method in such Cases) was not only omitted, but the same *Attorney General*, and most of the same Council, pick'd out by the late Queen's Ministry, as the fittest Tools they cou'd find for carrying on their Purposes, were continu'd; and that Person, whose Affection for this Government cou'd no more be doubted of, than his Abilities to serve it, was dismiss'd from being *Solicitor General*, because he wou'd not come into their Measures; than which, nothing, as ev'ry one is now convinc'd, cou'd be more for his Honour, except the steady Part he acted, when he was out; he then was so far from making Alliances with the Enemies of the Government, notwithstanding the Indignity he receiv'd, that he redoubl'd his Zeal for its Service on all Occasions.

A noble Peer's lying so long in Prison, without any Steps taken for his Trial, tho' Scaffolds were in all Haste built for that Purpose, made most People think, he knew what he did, when he chose to go to the *Tower*; and that his not flying was no great Mark of Courage, but the late cold, and lifeless Carriage, to say no worse of it, of a certain Gentleman, who once appear'd so very warm in that Prosecution, and who took to himself the whole Con-

duft of it, has convinc'd the World, he is capable of giving up, ev'n the Justice due to his Country, in the Instance of a Person, whom he himself thought the greatest Criminal against it, to the gratifying of those Passions, which, on ev'ry other Occasion, have of late thrown him into such a Course of Behaviour, as wou'd become no Body, but one who is a profess'd Enemy to it

All Parties must hate Ingratitude, especially such monstrous Ingratitude! and he, who so easily broke thorow the greatest Ties, and the highest Obligations, must be sensible, except quite blinded by Passion, that what he has done must demonstrate to the World, that no Side can have the least hold of him, but that they must all agree to look on him as the last of Mankind; and one wou'd think, that a Man of the least Experience cou'd not but know, that the *Tories* had done too much against him, as well as he too much against them, ever to be forgiv'n, much less trusted; and that after they have made all the Use they can of him, they will throw him by, as a tir'd Traveller does his dirty Boots, and have no more Regard to him than he has to his Master.

As an Instance of this, there were several among the rankest *Tories*, who cou'd not forbear to say aloud, they were *highly pleas'd to see him lick up his own Spittle*; but shou'd he have the Favour to be admitted to come in at their Fag-End, wou'd it not shew wonderful Management, if from being at the Head of one Party, he was able, by his own Cunning and

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Contrivance, to place himself at the Tail of the other?

The Archbishop of *Spalato*, when he was in *England*, in King *James* the First's Time, wrote several Discourses against *Papery*, and not thinking he was prefer'd here according to his Merit, (being a Person of no Principles, but of boundless Ambition and Covetousness) went back to *Rome*; where, the Pope, instead of Advancing him, as he was made to believe, clapp'd him up in the *Inquisition*, 'till he had answer'd his own Writings; and I believe, the *Tories*, had they it in their Power, wou'd serve a certain Gentleman much after the same Rate, 'till he had answer'd certain Discourses, of which he is esteem'd the Author; and which reflect as much as possible on his *New Allies*.

Most People thought, (and I own I was of the Number) that the Usage this Gentleman met with from the *Tories*, was sufficient to shew that no Price cou'd gain him; but, in Truth, they did not consider, that after the *Whiggs* had been charg'd with Cheating, and Plundering the Publick, and no Proof was made of it, a Vote of the *House of Commons*, of a Breach of Trust, and notorious Corruptions in any Man among 'em, who had been employ'd in such Eminent Posts, wou'd be of more Advantage to the *Tories*, than all the Services he cou'd do 'em; and they were sure he shou'd do 'em no Hurt, being resolv'd to expel him the House.

The *Tory* Ministry, in their Four *Pacifick* Years, rais'd not only more Money, than their Predecessors had done in seven, during the War; but also contracted more Debts than the former had

had done in twice the Time ; what this was chiefly owing to, may be guess'd by the Treasurer's Letter to the Queen, where 'tis affirm'd, that * *Some of his Fellow-Servants were for Cheating the Publick of 100000 l. in the South Sea Affair, as St. John, and others had 20000 l. in that of Canada ; and that the C-----r said, that No Government was worth serving, which wou'd not let them get such Jobs.* When Men had such Views, 'tis no Wonder, if they endeavour'd to throw Dust in the Eyes of the People ; and to make themselves appear more innocent, wou'd represent the *Whiggs* as criminal as possible.

Nothing touch'd me more sensibly, than a certain Gentleman's robbing me of a Patriot, and substituting in his Room, a Thing too prostitute to be mention'd ; and yet I was so blinded in his Favour, that I battl'd it out for him with the *Tories*, 'till he quite pull'd off the Masque.

Since this Apostacy, I heard a Dispute between a Creature of -----, and a steady *Whigg*, who, after having made a Comparison between the two *Robins*, as to several remarkable Circumstances in their Lives and Fortunes, said, there was a greater Resemblance as to their Minds, and there was nothing which one did, that the other, had he been in the same Circumstances, wou'd have scrupl'd.

This provok'd the deluded *Whig* to say, 'Twas impossible for him to make the least
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Parallel between a Man of the utmost Sincerity, and a meer Trickster.

To which the other reply'd, Your Man of the utmost Sincerity must be arriv'd to a great Perfection in the Art of Tricking, if he, to impose on his Prince, and injure a Fellow-Subject, whom the King had promis'd shou'd be continu'd in the Command of a Yatch, first caus'd it to be laid up, and then got it newnam'd, and under that Name begg'd it for a near Relation; and he added, What he most wonder'd at, was, how he cou'd prevail on others to join with him thus to evade a Royal Promise.

Cou'd the other *R^{ati}on*, said he, do a more tricking Thing, than to appear zealous for having such a Sum mov'd for, after such a Manner, and promise to make the Motion himself; but instead of that, when he cou'd not hinder it from being made, to get his Creatures to oppose it; and chiefly for that Reason, because it was made after the Manner he advis'd.

To give a Prince, upon his Quitting his Place, the utmost Assurance of Zeal for his Service; nay, make the Promoting of his Service a Reason for his Laying down, and tell him, that as a Proof he wou'd always be oblig'd to be well with his Majesty, he wou'd beg a Favour of him, and that was the House at C-----a for Life; and immediately upon this to act the Part he did, shews, I do your *R^{ati}on* no Injury in the Comparifon.

One, who can treat his King thus, will not, added he, care how he abuses his Fellow-Subjects; of whom, several, tho' of the greatest Loyalty,

Loyalty, and who executed their Employments with Ability and Honesty, (of which, if you please, you shall have a List) were turn'd out to make Room for others no ways qualify'd ; and to shew his great Sincerity, some of them, as I am well inform'd, were dismiss'd soon after they had receiv'd the strongest Assurances of Kindness, and Friendship.

To talk to the last one way, and to vote another, as in the Case of S-----n, and others, is, no doubt, a great Proof of his Sincerity ; and so is his joining with *Tories*, and doing ev'ry thing to make the Parliament impracticable, while he is charging others with a Design of Uniting with them, and Dissolving this Parliament.

To this the W-----te, with Warmth, reply'd, *Pho*, this is meer Malice, 'tis impossible for a Man in his Post, tho' he acted ever so fairly and honestly, not to be aspers'd ; and your Comparison is a meer Libel. Did ever our R-----n, as you call him, promote Bills for Persecution, contrary to the Principles he was bred in, and then profess'd, to the Oppression of his Fellow-Subjects, and the Endangering the Protestant Religion ?

I shou'd think as ill of him, reply'd the Whigg, if after he had complain'd of those Acts as a great Grievance, and had promis'd to endeavour the Repeal of them, if ever he got into Power ; when he had got in, he shou'd then spirit up a Persecution against the B. of B, for Maintaining those Rights, which belong to us as Men, as Christians, and as Protestants ; and set up in Opposition to him a prevaricating Wretch, who oppos'd him with as little Honesty as Sence.

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Pray Sir, be not offended at the Comparison, did they not both rise by those Principles and Friends, which they both have deserted and betray'd? and tho' the former Trickster did ev'ry Thing that's vile, yet sure, he, who artfully skreen'd him, ev'n while he bitterly rail'd at him, is not only as great a Dissembler, but an Abettor, and Encourager of all his Villanies; I will grant you, that one of them is better at Flattery, Wheedling, and Cajoling, which makes him the more dangerous; yet in dividing the *Whiggs*, he follow'd the Example of the other, who before had set them at Odds on Pretence of Setting up a *Land-Bank*.

Are not both alike implacable, and resolv'd to crush all, that will not truckle to them? Do not we *Whiggs* cry up Sir J. H-----nd, as a Man, whose Vertues render him a Credit to our Party; and yet how barbarously has he been us'd, and how mean a Piece of Spight was it, to turn him out of the Commission of the Peace?

Are not both alike selfish, and always acted with a View to private Interest, tho' the former did not seem so fond of Money, as to sell ev'ry Thing; and where People had not Money to buy, to go Shares with them in the Profits of their Places; I shall charge no Body with this Corruption, but only give you an Account of an Affidavit made by Mr. Th---- B-----ks, the Contents of which he deposes, he told many Months before this Change in several Companies, as can be Attested by Persons of Reputation; and are to this Effect.

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That Mr. ----- did promise this Deponent, that he shou'd not fail of having a Place, if he wou'd apply to him in a proper Manner; that some Time after Mr. D-y, Partner with Mr. M-n, shew'd him a Letter dated at *Chelsea*, sign'd R----- M-n, wherein after mentioning the Interest he had with his Master -----, *he saith*, You can easily assure your Friend, that all his Recommendation, without an Understanding with me, will avail nothing; and Mr. D-y further *added*, That tho' this Deponent shou'd be recommended by the King himself, it wou'd signify nothing, unless he wou'd come into Mr. M-n's Measures; upon which he did agree to give the said M-n, a Bond of 1000 *l.* to pay him a third Part of a *Searcher's* Place, as long as he enjoy'd the same; and that he was enjoin'd to keep this Transaction as a great Secret; and that one Mr. Bertue, about this Time, being turn'd out from being one of the *Searcher's* at the *Custom-House*, he has great Reason to believe, that Employment was sold to the Person, who now enjoys it for a greater Consideration, than what he had oblig'd himself to give.

This Deponent further *saith*, That during the Time Mr. ----- was T-----r of the N---y, he, and his Partner, did borrow of Mr. M-n, 10000 *l.* at 27 *per Cent.* Interest, which he verily believes to be the Publick Money; and the rather because when Mr. ----- was out of that Employ, they were closely press'd by Mr. M-n for the Money, that Mr. ----- might be enabl'd to make up his Accounts.

To this 'twas reply'd, No Man, sure, cou'd be so much blinded by Covetousness, as for a little more Money, to run the Hazard of being thus expos'd; and therefore, the Story confutes itself.

To which 'twas briskly answer'd, That a Man once sent to Prison for Bribery and Corruption (no Matter whether the Money was for himself, or Creature,) becomes as harden'd, and impudent, as a Wench sent to *Bridewel* for a less Fault; but cou'd he offer 90000 l. for one Purchase, or were he worth but one half so much, as his Friends say he is, supposes several such Jobs must have been done; without which, *no Government*, according to L---d H-----t, is worth serving; and of these, you, perhaps, can give a better Account than I.

Be no longer, Sir, impos'd on; have not we *Whiggs* Reason to hate them both? Did not one of them bring us to the Brink of Ruin? and is not the other now, when nothing else can do us a Mischief, likely to finish what the other left undone? Does he not seem now resolv'd to confound, what he despairs to govern? and will he not succeed in the Attempt, except they, who have made this Defection, endeavour, by a better Conduct for the future, to retrieve our Credit, sunk now very low both in Town and Country?

But begging Pardon for this Digression, I shall now observe, that the main Argument, by which some hope to keep their Creatures still dependent on them, is, the Representing those, who have the Management of Affairs, as not equal to the Charge; and that there-

fore, of Course, it must fall again into their Hands.

To this modest Argument, which consists in Over-valuing themselves, and Under valuing ev'ry Body else, I shall only say, that the true Interest of *Great Britain* is so plain, that it can't easily be mistaken, let there be but Honesty, Resolution, Steadiness, and Application, Things will go well ; but if Men care not how they injure the Publick, so they get by it, and yet, at the same Time, are willing to keep up Appearances ; this, indeed, requires such Tricking and Cunning, as all wise, all honest Men, carefully avoid, and none more abhor than those at present in the Administration. And it's no small Proof, that some Men want those Abilities they boast of when they use such Arguments for themselves, as oblige People to consider their former Conduct ; and make Comparisons, which, they must be sensible, will never turn to their Advantage.

It can't be deny'd, that Things are now in so good a Method, and so quickly expedited in the Treasury, that the *Lords Commissioners* never rise, 'till they have dispatch'd whatever Business comes before them ; so that at their last Adjournment there was not a Paper left undetermin'd. There's now no Complaint of a Certain Office held in the *Sirand*, or any where else, which dispos'd of Places to the highest Bidder ; or of Grants of Places in *Reversion*, or for Life to Children and Relations ; instead of that, no sooner was the Management of the Publick Revenues in the Hands it now is, but there was an Order made to prevent any

any such Practice in those Places, of which they have the Disposal.

Upon a certain Gentleman's Motion for a Loan of 600000 *l.* at 4 *per Cent.* a worthy Member oblig'd him to explain his Project concerning the *Funds*; which was so destructive to the Publick, that it sunk Credit the next Day 10 *per Cent.* and with all the Interest he cou'd make, he cou'd not get an eighth Part subscrib'd; nor was it intended by him, that any Thing shou'd be transacted during the Sessions, or by Parliament, but to gain a Power for the Treasury to treat with the Proprietors of so many Millions in the Interval of Parliaments; a Power, that might make any one, who had the chief Direction of it, the richest Subject in *Britain*; and certainly, one, who had been voted guilty of *Bribery* and *Corruption*, for Contracts he was empower'd to make for the Publick, if he had the least Regard to his own Reputation, instead of Courting such a Power, wou'd, to his utmost, have declin'd the Accepting it; but if a Parliament had been held during the King's Absence, as some design'd, there can be no doubt, but that this Contrivance had succeeded.

The Person now at the Head of the Treasury, (who thinks it the Duty of all in Publick Posts, to avoid giving Occasion for the least Suspicion;) was against any such Power, and thought, that a Matter of so publick a Nature shou'd be publickly transacted by the House of *Commons*, to whom, of Right, it belongs; and accordingly it pass'd to the great Satisfaction of the Nation; and this Thing,
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which was hop'd by the *Jacobites*, and their New Allies, wou'd have sunk Credit, has rais'd it higher than ever yet it was. And if this Success, as His Majesty tells us in His Speech, is chiefly to be attributed to that just and prudent Regard, which was shewn to Parliamentary Engagements; wou'd not the Taxing the Contracts not redeemable by Parliament (a Design, a certain Gentleman still openly avows) have destroy'd Publick Credit, and ruin'd Thousands of Families?

There can be no greater Proof, that People are fully satisfy'd with what was done, than that among so many Millions subscrib'd to the Government, there has not been 500 *l.* demanded out in Money: And they can't but think the Treasury now in better Hands, when the Publick takes up Money on such easy Terms, than when it gave 6 per Cent. on the *Malt-Tax*; tho' there was at the same Time a Premium of one, and an half per Cent. on the *Land-Tax* Tallies.

Tho' the Noble Peer, who was made, upon the King's Accession to the Crown, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, cou'd not, thro' his ill State of Health, go over, yet by his prudent Care, in getting the disaffected remov'd, and recommending the most zealous and active, Things were so well manag'd, and that Kingdom (notwithstanding the vast Number of *Papists*, and other disaffected Persons) kept in so much Peace and Quiet, that the Government was able of the few Forces it had there, to spare several Regiments, for Reducing the Rebels in *Great Britain*. And had as proper Methods been

been us'd here by those at the Helm, we had, undoubtedly, been as free from all Disturbances.

Had that Lord appear'd sullen, and discontented, for not being restor'd to his former Post, and tho' he had accepted another Place, yet had been too proud, and resty, to have acted; he, certainly, wou'd have met with the Fate of a late Statesman; whose Behaviour has been so Unaccountable, that it leaves not those who wish him well, any Thing to offer in his Excuse.

We can only judge of Politicians by their Actions; and if these tend to one Point, tho' ever so vile, ever so contrary to their Protestations, it wou'd be no Breach of Charity, to think they had *That* continually in View.

Were I a bold, daring Fellow, of a Humour to laugh at ev'ry Thing that's serious, to banter ev'ry one, I thought had less Sence than myself; and tho' of a ready Wit, yet of a Judgment none of the soundest, and of a Reputation none of the best; and yet withal so extravagant in my Way of Living, that tho' I have had several Considerable Places, of which, I always made the most, yet my Fortune was still desperate, and I knew not how to contract my Expences; in this Case, if I kept one Place in Trust, by which I might gain vastly in Proportion to the Number of the Forces in Pay; and another, which I executed myself, afforded me a thousand Opportunities of getting what I thought fit in a Time of War; can it be suppos'd, that any Scruples of Conscience wou'd hinder me from doing all I safely

ly cou'd to encourage a War, especially a Civil War? for the Carrying on of which, Money and Troops must be had at any Rate; and where, if the Rebels miscarry'd, I had an Opportunity of squeezing what Sums I pleas'd out of them; and if I succeeded in this, my next Step, no doubt, wou'd be to make myself necessary to the Government; and in Order to that, I shou'd endeavour to cause such an *Equilibrium* between the Parties, that I might, by the Assistance of my Creatures, turn the Balance on what Side I pleas'd; and if I thought the Party I pretended to be of, was too powerful, I wou'd, underhand, do what I cou'd to weaken it, and to strengthen the other; by this I shou'd hope to be well with them, if my Design of making the Government employ me, and my Creatures, upon my own Terms shou'd miscarry.

Now the Question is, Whether such a Supposition as this, may not, in some Measure, explain the Mysteries of a Conduct otherwise wholly unaccountable? Particularly, whether it will not unlock the Secret, why such a Party was form'd against that General, to whom we owe so many Obligations; and who, in the Midst of a most severe Winter, by a Conduct, which guarded against all Accidents, entirely dissipated the Rebels, and put an End to a War, which might have been nurs'd up to the great Advantage of two Persons; between whom, tho' they both seem'd to aim at the Governing, and Engrossing ev'ry Thing, there is at present a great Intimacy, and is likely to continue, while such an Active and Able Statesman and Soldier is to
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command the Troops; than which, nothing can be a greater Discouragement to a New Rebellion.

People were surpriz'd to find, so little Regard paid to the frequent Petitions of the Merchants, complaining of the Interruption of their Trade in the *Baltick*, and the Taking such Numbers of their Ships by the *Swedes*, and that ev'n while we had a Royal Navy in the *Sound*, they were permitted, with Impunity, to act the *Pirates*; but *Gyllenborg's* Letters help to explain this Mystery; where we find, that the Ships taken from us, were to serve as Transports for their Army. Had not this hellish Conspiracy been seasonably discover'd, what Sums might not the *Posts* a certain Gentleman then enjoy'd, have gain'd him by this Invasion; since no Expence wou'd have been thought too great, to have quickly got rid of these barbarous Ravagers. To be zealous when in Play, for keeping up 32000 Men, and after a short Interval of Time, in which his Conduct was far from affording an Argument for Lessening them, to be as zealous against Trusting the King, tho' but for a Year, with half that Number, is of a Piece with the rest of his late Actions.

If another Person (as 'twas reported) said just before he was remov'd, That he *had rather see an Army of Swedes here, than the Act about Occasional Conformity repeal'd*; I shou'd not wonder, considering from what Priests he got his *Church-Politicks*; and by what Artful Man he has all along been wholly govern'd in State-Matters.

It can't be suppos'd, these Men had any Hand in the *Triple Alliance*, (and the same, I believe, may be said of the other beneficial Treaties) since as it was begun at the *Hague* by Mr. *Stanhope*, and the Abbot *Du Bois*, so it was finish'd while the King was Abroad. And not to mention the other Advantages we gain by it, what can be more to the Honour, as well as Security, of the Nation, than that *France* shou'd be oblig'd, at her own Expence, to demolish the Port and Harbour of *Mardyke*, to the great Mortification of the Old, and New *Jacobites*.

But since 'tis said, and ev'n by those who pretend to be *Whiggs*, that the *Publick Good* requires the Restoring certain *Statesmen*; they wou'd do well to tell us of one good Law that they caus'd to pass; (some, indeed, they hinder'd, as that relating to the *Vestries*, &c.) or any one Thing they did for the Publick Security. Did they take right Methods to quell the *Riots* and *Tumults*, that were spread almost over the whole Nation? What was done at *Bristol*, and other Places? Did it serve any other Purpose, than to encourage a downright Rebellion? and here in *London*, in the very Face of the Government, its Friends were so frequently insulted, that the *Jacobites* had, for some Time, with too much Appearance of Truth, the Assurance to tell the People, that if they expected to be safe in their Houses, or Persons, they must, at least, be Neuters. We can't doubt, but that 'twas in the Power of some Men, to have kept Things in a better Order, if we but consider what Effect, the Hanging of five mean Rascals (which at last they were forc'd to come into) has had on the *Mob*; how

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it has brought them to a better Temper, and kept Things ever since in Quiet; and had the same Methods been taken sooner, in all Probability, there never had been any Rebellion.

Where those, who are at the Head of Affairs, are so cautious (to call it no worse) of Provoking the irreconcilable Enemies of the Government, as not to take all necessary Steps for its Security, but act a mean, cowardly Part; others, no doubt, will be so wrought on by their Example, as not to do Justice on the King's Enemies, or to his Friends; and when they, who have more than a common Zeal for the Government, are term'd its too-warm Friends, and for that Reason meet with Discouragements; there are very few, but who will quickly become luke-warm, and then so indifferent, as to desire to be well with the other Side, upon their own Terms; (and a Compounding Party in *England* is no New Thing;) let a Prince come to the Crown with ever so general Applause, or let his Arms meet with ever so great Success, yet such a Management must daily cause him to lose Ground; and by Degrees, ruin the best Cause in the Universe.

It did not a little encourage the *Jacobites*, to see so many of their Friends, who had sufficiently shewn they wou'd not leave their Party, continu'd in their Posts; especially in the Commissions of the *Peace* and *Militia*.

There's a great deal trusted to these Officers; 'tis They, who are to bring the King's Enemies to Justice; 'tis They, who are to suppress Tumultuous Assemblies; 'tis They, who are to

put the Laws in Execution against *Papists* and *Non-jurors* ; in short, the Welfare both of King and People, does, in great Measure, depend upon Their faithfully discharging Their Duty ; and therefore, none, especially in unsettl'd Times, ought to be employ'd, but zealous and active Men ; but when these important Trusts are in wrong Hands, all Favour is shewn to the King's Enemies, and his Friends, who can expect no manner of Justice, are insulted by Mobs underhand encourag'd.

In such a Case as this, 'twas no Wonder, that the Enemies of the Government thought they had nothing to do, but to rise in Arms, and take Possession.

During the War, or immediately after, when the Nation, frighten'd by the Danger from which they were just freed, wou'd have come into any Measures for its Security, was the proper Time for making necessary Regulations ; what then cou'd have hinder'd doing Justice to the *Dissenters*, when there were few, or none to have oppos'd it, but such (and this was fresh in ev'ry One's Mind) as either by *Secret and Malicious Insinuations* fomented, or by an *Avow'd Indifference* encourag'd the Rebellion ? Who then cou'd have been against *Reforming the Universities*, without being suspected to favour the Cause of Traitors ; when not only the Doctrines they taught, were most instrumental in setting the Nation in a Flame ; but 'twas notorious what Part one of them was to have acted in that Traiterous Enterprize.

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Then had been the Time to have treated the *Papists*, who were most forward in the Rebellion as they deserv'd ; That had been Wounding the Enemies of the Government in the tenderest Part , and none of our *Allies* cou'd have blam'd us, if having a just Care of our Preservation, we had put all the *Old Laws* against them in Execution ; or fram'd such *New Ones*, as might for ever have disabl'd them from doing us any Mischief, and reimburs'd the Nation the Expences they were at in Quelling those Rebels ; but the Conduct of the *Papists*, (who manage Things by a common Purse) and the Swarms of their *Priests*, who continu'd here after the *Rebellion*, as busy as ever, plainly shew'd, they were under no such Apprehensions. Can a Government long be safe, which neglects to take all lawful Means for weakning its Enemies, and strengthning its Friends ?

We; alas ! were so far from making the best of the Victory, that the *Jacobites* publicly boasted, we let all the Fruits of it slip out of our Hands ; and that the suffering the Prisoners to be plentifully maintain'd by their own Side in Jail, and letting so many escape, by *Bribing Juries*, *Jailors*, or by *Pardons*, or *Not being try'd*, (as the *Cottons*, &c.) was not the way to frighten their Party from attempting the like again ; especially, if they observ'd what Discouragements They met with, who were the forwardest in Opposing, or Preventing their Designs.

The *Tories* said, That had they in the Late Reign, taken any of the *Whiggs* in Actual Rebellion, they wou'd not have suffer'd them to have broken Prisons, if Loads of Irons cou'd have
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hinder'd it; nor wou'd they have brought them to *London*, as to a Market, that those who bid the highest might escape, after having squeez'd them by Reprieves upon Reprieves, (each of which, tho' ever so many were put in the same Reprieve, cost ev'ry single Person an extravagant Price;) and hang'd only a few poor Rogues; nor shou'd they, by single Trials, have put the Government to a vast Expence; but by a short *Bill of Attainder*, the usual Method in such Cases, have convinc'd the *Whiggs*, that whoever took up Arms, be the Pretence what it wou'd, shou'd certainly be hang'd.

Ev'ry one was at first surpriz'd to see, that tho' all the Rebels might have been, with little Expence, try'd in the *North*, where they were taken, and where the Witnesses were ready at hand; yet none but the poorer and meaner Sort were there try'd, but all of any tolerable Condition, or Substance, were, at a great Charge to the Government, brought to Town; and the Prisons so crowded with them, and kept there so long, as endanger'd bringing an infectious Distemper into the Town; and none being hinder'd from coming to them, the Party had an Opportunity to encourage them in their Obstinacy, to cabal together, to disperse their concerted Lies over the Nation, and create, especially, in the People of this Town, a Pity and Tenderneſs for them, by Reason of their enduring so long an Imprisonment; and by Executing now and then a single Person; this, I say, surpriz'd People, 'till they consider'd, that no Bargains cou'd conveniently be made but *Here*; and that *Here* was the Money of the Party, as
well

well as their common Rendezvous ; and that it might well be presum'd, they wou'd not spare their Purfes, to fave the Lives of thofe, who had ventur'd ev'ry Thing for the Caufe.

Nothing is, certainly, truer, than the Character *Tacitus* gives of the Mob ; *Nihil in vulgo modicum : terrere ni paveant : ubi pertimere, impune contemni*. And Severity gives them an Awe and Reverence for thofe who ufe it, and turns the Edge of their Hatred againft the Caufe, for which they fuffer ; which makes them run from one Extream to another. This is the Reason, that where Arbitrary Power prevails, they quickly grow fond of their Chains, and hate the very Name of *Liberty* ; and we fee, that the fevere Executions in the *West* by K. *James*, to whose *Popish* Government, they were then fo generally averfe, was far from hindring his fuppos'd Son, from having his greateft Hopes from thence. Never was there an Instance of a Prince's being belov'd by his Subjects ; who was not a ftrict Observer of Discipline ; *Hang well and Pay well*, is the Hinge, on which Government turns ; and ours has been, in a manner, unhing'd, ever fince *Sacheverell's* Mob escap'd unpunish'd.

When People take up Arms on Account of *Grievances*, the Redreffing thofe, and Pardoning the Rebels, may, perhaps, be a proper way to regain them ; but when a *fuppos'd unlawful Title* is the Grievance, how can that be redrefs'd ? and when being protect'd in their Lives and Fortunes will not at firft hinder them from taking up Arms, I can't fee, how *That* will afterwards do it ; and the Conduct of the pardon'd Rebels has fufficiently fhown, that nothing but Severity can

can have any Effect in such Cases: But then you must be quick in Punishing, and all at a Time; 'tis *That* strikes the utmost Terror; whereas Executing a single Person *now* and *then*, and a good While after the Fact, serves only to provoke; and (however it may conduce to the Purposes of bad Men) has the worst Appearance of Cruelty without frightening; nay, if Men had a Mind to bring a Government into Hatred with the People, and create in them a Pity for its Enemies, what more effectual way cou'd be taken? and what a Handle must it give them to make Tragical Exclamations of its Cruelty, and at the same Time, cause them to despise its ill Conduct, is too evident. Indeed, after People have been so long detain'd in Prison without being brought to Justice, it makes a Pardon necessary.

If Men are in haste to grow rich, there is, no doubt, more to be got by *Not prosecuting*, or by *Saving* than *Hanging*; and we may guess at the Reason, why *two Persons*, (not to mention others) *One*, who knew there was such plain Evidence against him, that, in Despair, he stabb'd himself; and the *Other*, tho' now a *New Ally*, thought so great a Criminal, with such full Proof against him, as not to be admitted to Bail on any Terms, were *both* dismiss'd without any Prosecution: Which made the Government censur'd for Clapping up, and Continuing so long in Prison, Persons, either really, or, at least, in the Eye of the Law, innocent.

Never was there an Instance of a Plot so general as this, and an unsuccessful Rebellion attending it, where all was not unravell'd; but there
may

may be Cases, where more is to be got by Concealing than Discovering; and *Hush-Money* may amount to a very considerable Sum.

Tho' we shou'd overlook this Conduct, yet did they manage better in other Matters? the *Tory* Ministry, we find, courted the People at a prodigious Expence, and *Jacobite* Papers were thrown by Bundles into ev'ry Corner; and by those Means they gain'd them over to all their destructive Measures; so that 'tis plain, they who will court the People may be sure of them, ev'n in Things contrary to their Interest; but did we take Care to regain them? tho' we saw, that the *Jacobites*, sensible of the Benefit they drew from their Libels, were willing to run all Hazards, and come into any Expence for dispersing them.

The not taking off, at the *Revolution*, two of the *State Holy-Days*, was, by some, thought a great Neglect; since it gave the *High-church* Priests an Handle to attack the *Revolution*, in fixing, in the Minds of the People, their *Arbitrary Principles*; and the Compassion they inspir'd them with for the Sufferings of the Grand-Father, (which some of them heighten'd above *those* of our Saviour) they easily turn'd into a Love for the suppos'd Grand-son; and tho' they were *Church-men*, as *Clarendon* owns, who began the War; (and 'tis notorious, that as the *Presbyterians*, by their Ministers, petition'd against *Putting the Father to Death*, so they were most active in *Restoring the Son*;) yet the Pulpits, to make them odious to the People, charg'd them not only with *Beginning the War*, and *Killing the King*, but represented ev'ry *Whigg* as a *Presbyterian* and *King-killer*; and continue to

do the same to this Day with much Success : And when the *Tories* happily gave a just Occasion for putting down *those Days*, by their Tumults and Violences they then committed ; and by the Marks of Distinction they ev'ry where wore on *one* of them ; which occasion'd the Practising the same on the *Pretender's Birth-day* ; yet no Advantage was taken of this ; and 'tis no Secret, that a certain Gentleman, tho' he promis'd to be for it, underhand made all the Interest he cou'd against it.

The first Thing which gave the, 'till then, despairing *Jacobites* some Hopes, was, that Piece of Courtship paid to the *High-church Clergy*, in making one of the chief Instruments of the *late infamous Peace* a Privy Counsellor ; and I may venture to say, that ev'ry Thing, some advis'd, was of a Piece with this, and serv'd to encourage the Enemies of the Government, and discourage its Friends ; whereas a direct contrary Method had, by this Time, rooted out all *Jacobitism* ; or, at least, reduc'd that Faction to an inconsiderable, contemptible Number.

Cowardly, Trimming Measures are the more inexcusable, because 'tis evident from all our Histories, that in what Reign soever there has been a Steady, Resolute, Active, and Vigorous Administration, *those Princes* have never fail'd of being *Great and Glorious*, and having the People at their Devotion ; while they, who took a contrary Method, which was generally owing to the Advice of Corrupt Ministers, were *perpetually unhappy*.

The Weight of the Government in all Reigns is so very great, that, 'tis capable, whenever there is a Steady, Resolute, and Active Administration,

tion, to rectify all Abuses ; or do whatever it thinks fit for the Publick Good. Had *H. 8.* been influenc'd by such Counsels as seem'd of late to have prevail'd, he wou'd never have done such *Glorious Things* towards a *Reformation* ; nor wou'd Queen *Elizabeth* ever been able to have compleated it.

This Queen, who makes the greatest Figure among our Princes, was most eminently remarkable for that Steadiness and Uniformity, which ran through all her Actions, during that Long, and Glorious Reign : By which Means She baffl'd the many Attempts of her Foreign and Domestick Enemies, and entirely broke the whole Force and Spirit of that Party among her Subjects, which was popishly affected, and was very formidable in the Beginning of her Reign.

But to give a more modern Instance, *Cromwel*, notwithstanding the Badness of his Title, and tho' he had the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Church* and *Presbyterians* against him, yet by employing none but Active Men, who were hearty to his Cause, and mortally hated his Enemies ; he not only did what he pleas'd at Home, but made as great a Figure Abroad, as any of our *English* Monarchs ; but his Son, who acted a trimming, mean Part, quickly lost all his Father had gain'd.

The *Whiggs*, who made the first Stand against *Popery* and *Slavery* in *Ch. 2d's* Reign, were very few ; but they, by their Courage, Unanimity, and Steadiness, mightily encreas'd, and baffl'd all the Designs of the Court, 'till the King resolv'd to take off the Heads of their Leaders ;

and tho' he made Use of the utmost Stretch of the Law to do this, yet it wonderfully chang'd the Inclinations of the People, and put him in a Condition to act as he thought fit.

Upon the *Revolution* it had been easy to have extirpated all *Torism*, had vigorous Measures been taken ; but the mean Courtship of those in Power to the *Tories* and *High-church Clergy*, instead of gaining them one Man, serv'd to no other Purpose, than to give them such Credit with the People, as to be believ'd in ev'ry thing they said against the *Whiggs* ; especially, of their Designs on the *Church*, notwithstanding the many Laws they made in Favour of it ; which caus'd the King to judge it necessary more than once to court, and employ that Party ; tho' as often as he did it, the Nation was brought to the Brink of Ruin.

None, sure, can forget, that the Queen's M-----y, had not Providence seasonably interpos'd, wou'd, in all Probability, have succeeded in all their mad Undertakings ; and to what was this owing, but to the bold Steps they were always taking, and to their continually pushing on, with the utmost Courage, and Resolution, their wicked Designs ?

The *Whiggs* in *Ireland*, tho' scarce One in Ten, compar'd with the *Papists*, and other *Jacobites*, yet keep them in great Awe and Subjection ; and this is chiefly owing to their *Commons* in Parliament, acting with so much Vigour and Unanimity, never quarrelling with the Government, or one another, about such Trifles, as too often divide us here.

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The same Methods, no doubt, wou'd have the same Effect on the *British Jacobites*, who being *Slaves by Principle*, and generally *Sots by Education*, are, upon no Account, superior to the *Irish Tories*; and, for the most part, are a bragging, blustering, cowardly Set of Men, whom the least kind Usage, they always imputing it to Fear, makes *insupportably insolent*; whereas if they are treated as they deserve, they, as constant Experience shews, become most tame, submissive, and fawning, like those Foreign Slaves they so much admire.

The *English*, of all Nations, are the most fond of such Bold, Enterprizing Men, as let slip no Opportunity of pushing their Enemies; especially, in their Party Quarrels, where their Animosities run to the greatest Heights: And in Truth, that which has so much endear'd the *Tory* Leaders to their own Side, was their taking all Occasions to oppress the adverse Party; This made them give themselves up to their Conduct, and act with so much Unanimity under their Management.

If the *Whiggs*, tho' personally as Brave as ever, have not of late, as a Party, shewn such Courage, Resolution, and Steadiness, as they did here formerly, and do at present in *Ireland*; this Change must be owing to the Misfortune of their having been under such Leaders; who out of narrow Views, and mean Courtship to their Adversaries, instead of doing what was necessary, for keeping up the Courage of their Side, did all that was possible to sink it; and to render them a mean, abject, dispirited, lifeless Party, except in their Quarrels

rels with one another: And herein they judg'd wrong, ev'n with Relation to their own Interest; since there never was a Minister, heartily belov'd by his own Side, or long in Favour with his Prince, except he show'd himself a Man of Courage and Resolution, ready to awe, and strike Terror into the Party, who were Enemies to his Master.

I may venture to say, that Two Persons, whom I need not name, cou'd never have desired better Circumstances, to have done such Things for the Good of their Country, as wou'd have secur'd them a Lasting Authority with all honest Men; and they might, like Good Queen *Bess's* Ministry, have grown old in the Service of a Prince not giv'n to change, and have convey'd, unenvy'd, what Riches, what Honours they pleas'd to their Posterity, and been celebrated in History, for the most Able, nay, the most Honest Statesmen, this Nation was ever bless'd with.

If the *Whiggs* have no Mind to perish in the Harbour, after having escap'd so many Storms at Sea, they must now resume their former Bravery; and when Men are so happy as to have such Leaders, who are as much above Fear, as Covetousness, or Corruption, Courage naturally descends, and inspires a whole Party.

And, surely, the Example of a Sovereign, Who shews so much Resolution and Steadiness in a'l His Actions, must influence His Loyal Subjects, and make them act with Vigour and Unanimity, in Preventing the Designs of ill Men, who, to throw us into Confusion,

fusion, have been, ev'ry where, so industrious to create Division and Faction.

Tho' this Paper, if it had sooner seen the Light, might have appear'd with greater Advantage, yet, if some Men, having had Time to cool in the Country, had come up with such Dispositions, as wou'd have made the Publishing it needless, this wou'd have giv'n the Writer of it the highest Satisfaction; and there's nothing he wishes more ardently, than that the same Motive, the Love of his Country, which has made him, tho' with the utmost Regret, to write after this Manner, wou'd give him as just an Occasion to resume his former Sentiments, and say ev'ry Thing in Commendation of Men, whose Examples have so great an Influence.

F I N I S.



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 have him to give an Occasion to return
 to the same sentiments, and by every thing in
 Commandment of God, whose Kingdoms have
 been in the world.

